175 669 563 798 In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, outbreaks of tribal warfare with the Chinese central government occurred further to the south and west. Beginning in 1855, the Moslem population in the Ta-li district of Yunnan staged an uprising against their non-Moslem neighbors that led to almost twenty years of warfare marked by ruthless violence and slaughter on both sides. At least a million people lost their lives in the struggle, and one source estimates the population of the province was reduced from sixteen million to six million.[22]

III. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. The Coming of the West

177 From the middle of the nineteenth century, the Southwest China Region was subject to the intrusion of western military, material, and economic forces. They carried with them new secular and religious ideas incompatible with the traditional cosmological, social, political, and economic views of China. These forces for change coincided with a phenomenon when had been repeated many times over the centuries in China -- the decline of the ruling dynasty with an accompanying abuse of power and growth of disorder.[23]

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22. Cf. Eberhard, op. cit., p. 313; and H. B. Morse, The International Relations of the Chinese Empire, 3 vols., London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1910, 1918, Vol.II, pp. 288-89.

23. The course and effect of Imperial China's

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II. BUDDHISM

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798 This oldest of imported religions shows, in its recent development, some of the trends just noted. Despite the efforts of the noted abbot Tai Hsü (1889-1946), Buddhism never competed successfully for the allegiance of the intellectuals. The effort to transform it into a modern religion, by updating both its doctrine and its social program, failed, although for a time it seemed to show signs of an increasing vitality. Under warlord and Nationalist governments its personnel and establishments suffered severe attrition. Its establishments were taxed, its temples were converted to secular use by warlords, Kuomintang officials, and the local gentry. Much Buddhist property was confiscated, and tenants on Buddhist land refused to pay their rent. Monks and nuns were driven from their temples in the cities where up to 80 per cent of Buddhist establishments were converted to use as schools, barracks, and police stations.[5]

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5. Cf. Wing-tsit Chan, Religious Trends in Modern China, New York, 1953, pp. 55-56. This summary is from Ta-hsing, "Fifteen Years of Religious Catastrophes in Retrospect," Hai-ch'ao-yin magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 1, Jan. 1935.

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779 and charms. The City God, tutelary deity of an urban center, is no longer enshrined and worshipped; in many villages the god of grain no longer has his altar.[30] One sample survey showed that in the early 1930's, 58 per cent of the folk shrines were no longer being used for their original purpose;[31] the decline in the last twenty-five years has been accelerated. It should be noted that many of the folk cults of Yunnan and Kweichow are of local origin and do not share the common characteristics of the folk Taoism of the old settled provinces.

798 In the case of folk Taoism, and other local cults, the Communists have moved to bring to an end a complex of ancient practices that had long been dying out. Their method has been a campaign against superstition, a campaign carried out with all of the many devices of propaganda and pressure which are described elsewhere in this volume. It may be sufficient here to point out a few typical methods of attack on folk religion. In a rhymed indoctrination text for women we find exhortations to stay

30. Cf., Chan, op. cit., p. 145, for an excellent summary of their development.

31. C.S. Braden, Modern Tendencies in World Religions, New York, 1933, p. 113, as cited in Chan, op. cit., p. 145.

798 away from local witch doctors and, when ill, to consult a physician. And they are warned not to believe in prayer to the images of some divinity, "for these are only of mud and lacquer."[32] At all levels of education and in the annual cycles of "campaigns," such as the Patriotic Hygiene Movement, and the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, reference is made to the false and debilitating character of the old beliefs, which are held to be "feudal," "unscientific," "reactionary," etc. It is doubtful that the remnants of folk religion -- in recent years the resort only of the aged and the ignorant -- will long survive the campaigns being waged against them.

575 Another Taoist-linked institution is the secret society. These organizations have traditionally drawn their rituals, liturgies, doctrines, and patron deities from religious and folk Taoism. They have had a variety of social and political functions: they provide, especially in times of disorder, a closely knit confraternity from which the member can draw help and security. They offer a focus of social and religious life particularly appealing to those who travel beyond the limits of their local kinship groups. Throughout the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911), many secret societies had a

32. Fu-nü San-tzu Ching [The Three-character Classic for Women], Shanghai, Hsin-hua, 1950, passim.

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797 The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised trouble to the Church. The exchange of
[648] envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist Government took place in 1946; that Bishop Paul Yu-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with the Nationalist Government, boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased,
668 the persecution of the Church, begun in Com-
•798 munist area in 1937, was a grim warning of
797 what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism
779 as a whole.[61] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were

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61. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempête sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

668 two-hundred adult groups and thirty youth
798 groups as early as 1930.[62] In 1948 the Papal
797 Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion
779 of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün, Army, or Legion, of Mary. Many experienced Catholic missionarie were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object of their most ruthless measures of oppression.[63]

798 Communist policies and propaganda have
797 made the most of all the vulnerabilities of the
779 Chinese Catholic Church. Its foreign "imperialist" and Kuomintang connections were played

62. Monsterleet, p. 148. It seems to have had much less strength in the Southwest than in the major cultural and commercial centers. Cf. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

63. Cf., Hsü, Hsin-Chung-kuo ti tsung-chiao ko-hsin yü-tung [The Movement for Religious Reformation in New China], Shanghai, 1951, pp. 9-13. Hereafter cited as Hsü.

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up, and nationalistic feelings against it were aroused. Its role as property owner -- "foreign capitalist-imperialist oppression" -- was dramatized during the land reform period, and local ignorance and hatred turned against it.[64] Old and long discredited accusations were made against Catholic charitable organizations: the Sacred Heart Home for Children in Nanking was labeled a "little Buchenwald" and the sisters were accused of torturing, neglecting, and selling Chinese children.[65] The war in Korea provided the occasion for an increasing number of accusations of espionage against Catholic clergy.

Communist government measures have been many, but the main steps resemble those taken against other religious groups. The 1950 campaign for "triple independence" or "triple autonomy" involved freedom from foreign administration, financing, and evangelistic policy control. This was given emotional significance by the warfare in Korea, with the Communists' well-managed propaganda campaigns against imperialism and

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64. Cf. the dramatic eyewitness account of F. Legrand, Le Communisme arrive au village Chinois, Peking, 1947. This observation was made before the nationwide land reform campaign.

65. Cf. Walker, China Under Communism, [see following page]

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798 espionage.[66]
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779 In 1951 the campaign against the Church was accelerated. All Catholic schools and universities and many hospitals and churches were confiscated. Priests were "tried" and imprisoned, and the Papal Nuncio was expelled from China.[67]

798 The next step in the campaign against
795 Catholicism resembled the policy followed
797 in Russia and in the East European satellites.
779 This was the foundation by the Communists of a "national church" whose guiding spirits were a small minority of disaffected clergy and laymen. This group was constituted as the "Committee of the Reform Church." It was not subject to episcopal or pontifical directives. The group was to decide what was to be taught, who could say mass or give the sacraments, and it advocated "progressive," i.e., orthodox Communist teaching. Under its sponsorship certain "model parishes" were set up with "progressive" priests in charge.

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65. (continued) p. 190. Such accusations recall the stories circulated by the gentry which touched off the Tientsin massacre of Chinese Catholics and foreigners in 1870.

66. Monsterleet, pp. 25-29.

67. Ibid., p. 28.

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Apparently this organization has had only limited success. Monsterleet estimates that only 2 per cent went over to the "reform church"; many openly proclaim their faith; some died as martyrs.[68]

From October 1952 on there was less persecution of Catholics, although between January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364.[69]

Catholic missionary and organizational work came rather late to the Southwest, and this area has not been served by any of the great missionary orders that have had a long-term impact on areas in north and central China. Few if any of the dioceses were under Chinese bishops, and the two provinces of Kiangsi and Kweichow together had fewer Catholic clergy than the diocese of Peking alone.[70] Another index of the relative weakness of Catholicism in the southwest is the number of Catholic periodicals in the area; as of 1938 the three provinces

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68. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

69. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and Jan. 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit. p. 189.

70. Monsterleet, pp. 32-33.

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797 Government and Party moves against the Catholic communities of the Southwest followed the general pattern outlined above. The bishops of K'ang-ting and I-pin, Szechwan, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured in 1951. They were accused of espionage, of recruiting for the Legion of Mary, of sabotaging the movement for "triple autonomy," etc. At the end of 1952 in K'ang-ting, the bishop had been expelled from China, six Chinese priests were in prison, and only two were allowed a limited freedom. Thirty Catholics were in prison; the Franciscan lay missionary brothers were dispersed; the hospital, the orphanages, the leprosarium had been taken over by the Communists.[73] From this and other reports from the Southwest it would appear that the Communists have destroyed a great deal of the young and weak Catholic organization in these provinces. The missionaries returning from this area are generally more pessimistic about the future of Catholicism in China than those returning from areas where the church is better established. Commenting on the situation in Szechwan in July 1952, an authoritative Catholic journal said that there was not a single foreign missionary active in the entire province and

73. Monsterleet, pp. 44-45.

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797 only four in prison. In the dioceses under the Foreign Missionary Fathers of Paris, and in those in the charge of native clerics, the situation was appaling; the visible hierarchy of the church had disappeared or had been completely neutralized; the faithful deprived of organization and supervision, were left to shift for themselves.[74]

There was a respite from persecution from the Autumn of 1952 onward, though it is doubtful that this permitted any arrival of Catholicism in the Southwest. Churches in Shanghai were well attended, and although missionaries and native priests were continually harassed, they went on with their work. A group of British residents who left Shanghai in November 1955 testified that "Church attendance... has remained large, and Roman Catholic churches, in particular, are said to be jammed at all masses."[75] But the following month the Bishop of Shanghai and his "principal accomplices" were arrested and charged with "plotting a counterrevolutionary uprising." It seemed likely that another wave of persecution was rising in

74. Bulletin de la Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris, quoted in Monsterleet, pp. 211-12.

75. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, p. 32.

798 Shanghai and elsewhere.[76] It might well lead to
797 the extinction of the church in areas such as the Southwest when its situation was already desperate.

The Church in China obviously faces further trials. The fundamental question is how can the church resist a totalitarian state and gain converts when conversion brings political and social sanctions against them? Father Greene, who witnesses the persecution in Kwangsi, sounds a sombre note of warning, He is speaking of the cadres:

> "It was impossible for me, as I watched these well-trained youths perform their inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds.... The new ideas and strange thoughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship

76. New York Times, Dec. 11, 1955, U.P. dispatch dateline London, Dec. 10; China News Analysis, Hong Kong, 105, p. 1. No details of action taken outside of Shanghai are given.

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nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youth break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."[77]

The basic question is whether the harrassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by wide-spread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As pioneers

77. Robert W. Greene, Calvary in China, New York, 1953, pp. 76-77.

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797 The timetable of Communist moves against Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools, and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. The following figures show the decrease in Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and the almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[83] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have made their peace with the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectarianism, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. The "three autonomies" -- in support, government and propagation -- has been a stated goal of Chinese Protestantism since 1851, and the Chinese Protestant community has generally accepted this, when stated by the

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83. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

798 797 Communists, as a praise-worthy end.[84] A leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) "a grand union of the churches"; (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[85] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which even go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against the Romans.[86] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist

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84. Lacy, op. cit., pp. 307-08.

85. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 3.

86. Hsü, op. cit., p. 41.

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798 regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of
797 the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of the church in China is dark indeed.

204 Southwest China was a relatively late
797 and underdeveloped field of missionary effort; it suffered from the tendency of Protestant missions to concentrate in the coastal and easily accessible provinces. The distribution of Protestant periodicals serves to illustrate this fact. Between 1914 and 1937, 18 Protestant journals were established in the southwestern provinces (none in Kweichow). During the same period 124 were started in Kiangsu -- most of them probably in Shanghai -- and 115 in Kwangtung --
797 most of them probably in Canton. The following table shows the distribution of Protestants in the three provinces of the Southwest.[87]

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87. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924. Ku's percentages appear to be far too high and would yield a larger number of Protestants than the churches ever claimed.

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Province	Pop. in Millions (1938)	Percentage of Protestants (1938)	Gross number of Protestants (1924)
Szechwan	48.	3.9	12,954
Yunnan	13.9	2.4	7,816
Kweichow	14.7	2.8	9,446

In social composition, the small Protestant communities of the Southwest probably are roughly those of Chinese Protestantism as a whole: 75 per cent rural, 25 per cent urban, with farmers, petty merchants, and workers predominating.[88]

798 797 Chinese Protestant leaders have not suffered in the way that Catholic leaders have. They have apparently led their churches in a policy of accomodation to the new regime. An account by a Chinese Protestant -- and it is 797 impossible to check its accuracy -- states that there are 140 Protestant churches in Shanghai holding services every Sunday, and we know

88. Percentage estimates by the Dean of the University of Nanking as of the early 1930's. Damboriena, p. 30.

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726 669 apparently were intended to convince the people that spying by Nationalist agents still constituted an actual threat to the Communist regime. Indeed, it may be that espionage organizations had been revitalized by internal or external forces.

726 668 798 3. Foreign "Intelligence Agents." Closely connected with the suppression of Kuomintang intelligence personnel on the Mainland was the apprehension of "foreign intelligence agents." During the 1951 suppression movement, church groups and foreign missionaries were accused of engaging in espionage against the regime. Arrests of missionaries and foreign residents were frequently reported throughout the Southwest Region. A Catholic organization, Sheng-mu Chün (Legion of Mary), was made a particular object of attack. Members of the organization were required to register with the authorities and were subject to investigation by public security agencies. Persons who failed to comply were arrested and charged with counterrevolutionary activity.

687 4. Sabotage. Acts of sabotage reported in the Communist press included the destruction of factory property, the theft of economic information, the spreading of rumors among workers, and the organization of strikes.

Chinese Christian as his servant. In Sung pan his mission owned an old one-story Chinese house and had transformed the so-called schang fang in the back part of the long freehold farm into a chapel. However, since the most recent persecution of Christians this was only surreptitiously visited. /281/ Monseignor Dury had come up from Mao tschou in order to demand indemnity for this persecution; the Bishop of Tschang tu fu had been assured by the provincial authorities that the instigators would be punished. This persecution of the Christians had also started as a result of an incident which was in itself trivial. The yamen of the ting had introduced a kwang ping, an official set of scales, for weighing medicinal roots. Everyone who sold drugs was supposed to use these scales and pay a small tax, similar to that paid for the silver scales. The scales franchise was offered for sale by the yamen and an old Catholic had bought it for 100 taels. However, his competitors for this sinecure banded together and used the general dissatisfaction among the druggists, which had arisen as a result of the innovation, to stir up feeling first of all against the owner and then against his religion and his brothers-in-faith. To be sure, Monseignor Dury was not at all in favor of having his confessant buy the kwan ping and become a "publican and sinner," but it had already happened when he heard of it.

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Hate increased. The yamen people, frightened by the unsuspected effect of their new institution, said that the Catholic had persuaded them to adopt it, and that increased the fury of the populace. The result was that 9 Catholic Christians and 23 non-Catholics were slain at night. But the people of Sung pan ting were not satisfied with this. In order to calm them the ting and the tschen tai (general) issued a proclamation saying that people should rest assured, from now on no Christian would be permitted to hold any kind of office. And when the druggists and numerous root-diggers who live lower down in the Min Valley threatened to attack the city, the general promised to hand over to them all Catholics in bonds. However, things did not go that far. The French missionaries learned about the affair and handed in a protest in Tscheng tu fu. The kwan ping was no longer given out and the populace gradually calmed down, while the yamen finally declared his willingness to pay 2,000 taels for the murdered Christians.

Intrigues and obstacles on the part of the ting filled in the period from August 6 to 23. Then a small group of riders newly equipped and with fresh horses left the north gate of Sung pan, followed the Min River upstream along a very comfortable mule road and, after

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